

# BITER BACK



## SPECIAL ISSUE: POLITICAL VIOLENCE



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BY  
rod coronado.

**"AS ALWAYS. THE ONLY COMMITMENT BEING DEMONSTRATED BY ANYONE TO REMAIN PHYSICALLY NON-VIOLENT IS ON OUR SIDE. THE TIMBER. OIL. AGRICULTURAL. BIOMEDICAL. PHARMACEUTICAL AND EVEN ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRIES PROFIT QUITE NICELY FROM PHYSICAL VIOLENCE. SO WHY AREN'T THEY EVER HELD UP TO THE SAME MORAL YARDSTICK THE ALF AND ELF ARE?"**

# HYPOCRISY IS OUR GREATEST LUXURY

With the recent barrage of ALF, ELF, and now Revolutionary Cells actions this past summer, once again the debate on what is and is not violence or terrorism is being discussed by the animal rights and environmental movements. Responding as the corporate media would like us to, much of the value of any debate is lost when we solely defend property destruction as nonviolent action. No better than the hypothetical question of saving a drowning dog or human baby, asking our movement to defend ALF and ELF tactics to the media is society's way of detracting attention away from the very real physical violence it supports and endorses everyday.

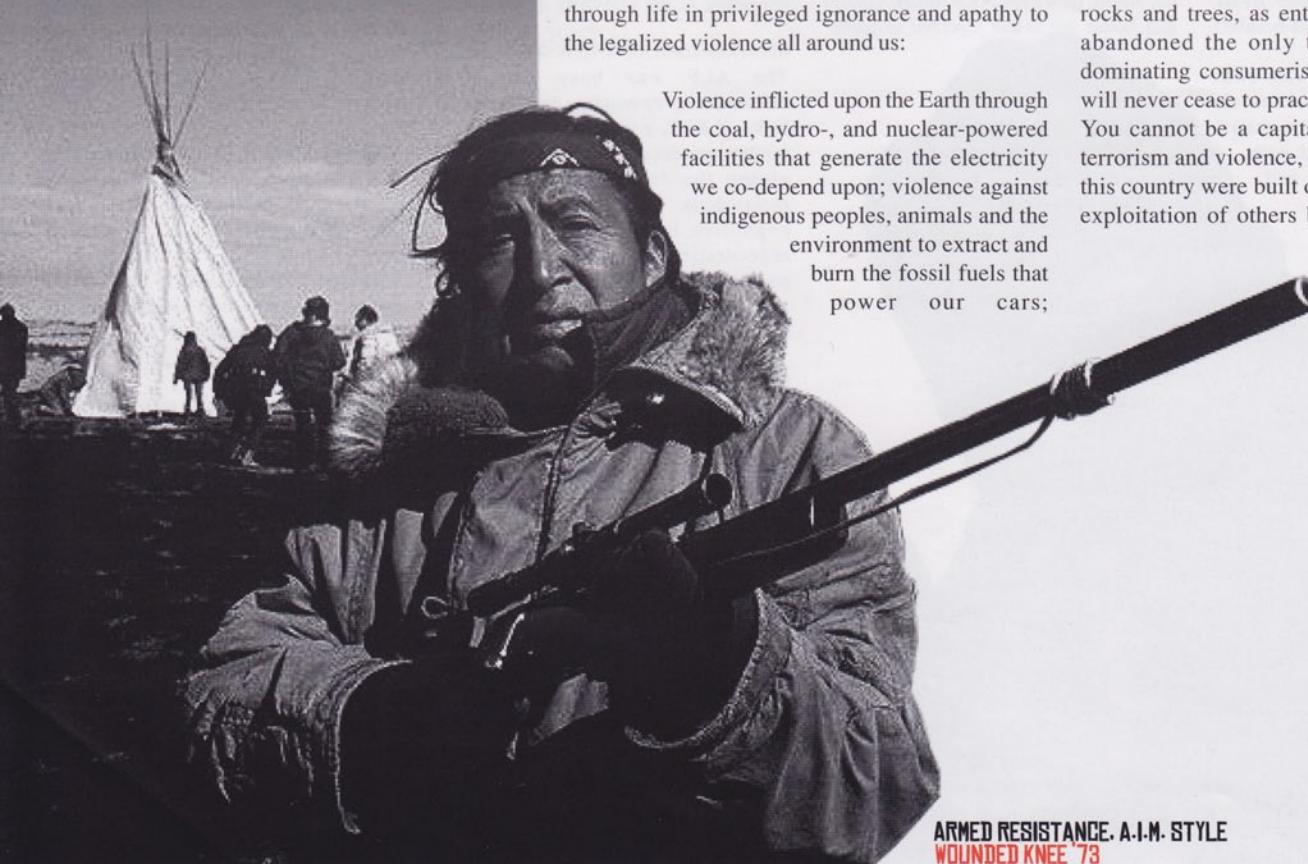
Rarely, if ever, are the war mongers and arms manufacturers, let alone slaughterhouse workers and vivisectors, asked the same questions. When we are asked to defend illegal direct action that saves, not destroys, life, the questions are posed as if we lived in a nonviolent world where ALF and ELF actions alone were shattering the peace of our supposed civilized society. Yet daily we walk through life in privileged ignorance and apathy to the legalized violence all around us:

Violence inflicted upon the Earth through the coal, hydro-, and nuclear-powered facilities that generate the electricity we co-depend upon; violence against indigenous peoples, animals and the environment to extract and burn the fossil fuels that power our cars;

violence committed by the polluting and animal-torturing companies that produce an endless stream of unnecessary luxuries; and the violence our police and military forces exercise daily across the globe to supposedly protect our "freedom" to live in such a violent way.

When CNN or FOX TV asks whether we are seeing an increase in violence, the answer is yes, but not from our side. As always, the only commitment being demonstrated by anyone to remain physically nonviolent is on our side. The timber, oil, agricultural, biomedical, pharmaceutical, and even entertainment industries profit quite nicely from physical violence, so why aren't they ever held up to the same moral yardstick the ALF and ELF are?

It is obvious that our society values property more than life. But the roots of justifying violence to create such a society require deeper understanding. Most humans abandoned, either through choice or force, the value system taught to our ancestors thousands of years ago. These moral lessons instruct us to live in harmony with our environment, as if all other forms of life matter, as they surely do. Turning away from seeing animals and even rocks and trees, as entities unto themselves, we abandoned the only true road to peace. The dominating consumerist lifestyle we live in now will never cease to practice and promote violence. You cannot be a capitalist and claim to oppose terrorism and violence, because the foundations of this country were built on blood and terror and the exploitation of others both past and present. As



ARMED RESISTANCE. A.I.M. STYLE  
WOUNDED KNEE '73

opponents of not just state-sponsored, but all terrorism, we retain the free will to resist. But few of us who are given privilege in the same system are courageous enough to oppose it.

We continually hear animal rights activists and environmentalists talk about our society's violence towards animals and destruction of entire species and ecosystems. We recognize and eloquently describe the violent crimes our society commits daily against the animal and natural world, often comparing the animal rights movement to the struggles against slavery and racism. But the animal rights movement is nothing like the 19th Century anti-slavery struggle, unless you take into account the condemnation of the Underground Railroad by abolitionists opposed to aiding runaway slaves. Nor are we anything like the South African anti-apartheid battle, which was forced to armed struggle, and even car bombings, to win basic human rights. Let's be honest. The animal rights movement as we now know it will never become a revolutionary struggle because the representatives of the oppressed enjoy enough privilege from the system they oppose to prevent them from supporting, let alone engaging in, actual revolutionary activity that would risk those comforts.

Privileged academics like Tom Regan compare the animal rights movement to other social justice struggles, but in the same breath condemn the actions of the ALF calling them counterproductive. Priscilla Feral and her Friends of Animals support anti-poaching efforts in Africa, including the killing of poachers, but shatter a few windows at an animal testing company and they're issuing press releases condemning direct action. On a recent CNN news show, a U.S. director of Greenpeace responding to questions regarding the ELF said his organization would cooperate in any effort to prosecute eco-warriors as terrorists. Wayne Pacelle and the Humane Society rake in so much money in the name of promoting animal rights through reformist campaigns that they now publicly condemn direct action by the ALF, SHAC and other groups. Pacelle even has called me personally a "poison to the animal rights movement" because rescuing animals and destroying their torture chambers threatens these "real" improvements for animals in our society.

Such individuals and organizations demonstrate a level of specieism every bit as destructive as that they oppose. In the words of liberated slave



## CHILDREN PLAYING 'EZLN'

forced to learn and one we in the animal rights and environmental struggles must learn as well.

I've seen what goes on behind the laboratory doors of places like Huntington Life Sciences and I'd be a hypocrite to say I wouldn't want to plant a bomb to stop it. It's far past time for tolerance of animal abusers, rapists and child molesters in our society and, if necessary, those people should live in greater fear that what they do to others might be done to them. Historically, such logic is all that could prevent genocide. I wish the abusers and destroyers could be reached with a more passive approach. But for many blinded by the wealth and power they amass through the exploitation of others, only through fearing for their own life will they begin to be made conscious to the suffering they inflict on others. This isn't my value system though; it's the one we're forced to fight under and the same one that now makes those September 11th flag wavers opposed to the war in Iraq only because now *their* sons and daughters are being killed.

I offer no apologies for the ALF, ELF, Revolutionary Cells, Zapatistas, Palestinian Intifada, Irish Republican Army or Iraqi Fallajah resistance movements, because only when we ourselves have been the victims of real violence can we realize its impact and begin to understand why others must

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disrespecting those who have lost their lives fighting oppression and demonstrating a level of cowardice and betrayal to those they claim to represent. Such people aren't allies, but obstructionists to the work that must inevitably be done to achieve true freedom in any struggle. I am sure the animals in thousands of research labs wouldn't want such representation.

Claiming to adhere to a code of nonviolence in this country is the privilege of those separated and unaffected by the violence carried out in our name. If we were opposing a Buddhist power structure, maybe there would be a chance for Gandhian nonviolence. But unfortunately, the society we live in takes little notice of the oppressed unless we accompany our efforts with direct action. That's the lesson my indigenous warrior ancestors were

acknowledge our role in allowing the violence all around us and act accordingly to prevent it as if every Iraqi child were our own and every animal one we knew. If our society continues to repress the efforts of those who advocate nonviolent change, they leave little option but to see an increase in violent resistance by those accepting of violence as a necessary means of change. The Earth and her threatened animal nations deserve the same level of defense that we support when human life is threatened. Otherwise we are just more hypocrites wanting change without the risk and sacrifice that is already being made by others.

# ronnie lee

ever heard of the band of mercy?  
How about the alf?

meet ronnie lee.

he started it.

**W**hy, in the mid 1970's, did you feel it was necessary to form a direct arm for the animal rights struggle? Do these reasons still resonate today?

I felt that, despite the efforts of existing animal protection societies, the situation for animals was getting worse, and that something more hard-hitting needed to be done to turn things around. Nowadays, unlike in the mid-1970's, non-direct action forms of campaigning are better thought out and are achieving more. But direct action has still had an important part to play in victories achieved by the animal rights movement, such as the closure of the Hillgrove and Shamrock Farms vivisection breeding establishments.

When you formed the Band of Mercy, what role did you see direct action playing at the time and how did you envision it evolving? Do you still see a role for organizations like the ALF today in the same capacity in which it was formed?

We just hoped that direct action, and the publicity obtained by it, would wake people up to how animals were being abused and get them doing something. We also saw it as a means of saving animals by hindering the work of animal abusers and possibly driving them out of business. We obviously hoped that the direct action movement



would grow and more people would become involved, but we didn't know for certain that this would happen.

These days, I think direct action is most effective where it is used against animal abuse establishments that are already under pressure from other types of campaigning, such as with HLS at the moment.

In the early days, direct action was much more "scattergun" than it is today, with people hitting out at all sorts of animal abuse targets. The problem with that approach was that, although it obviously caused some financial loss, there was rarely enough pressure brought against any particular target to close the place down.

The summer of 2003 in America was rich with a debate on the use of violence as a tactic for animal liberation. The issue is addressed from both ethical and strategic positions alike. When you started with Animal Liberation Front / Band of Mercy in the mid-70s, and throughout your volunteer involvement with these direct action organizations, you formed and adhered to a strict policy of non-violence. Why were you so committed to this principle and are you still? Are you tactically or ethically opposed to violence?

The non-violence policy of the ALF was always tactical rather than ethical. Some of those involved

in the ALF were ethically opposed to violence while others weren't. But it was generally felt that it was best for the ALF to avoid violence in order to gain the maximum number of activists by not frightening away those who felt uneasy about violent actions. I can understand why the ALF adopted this policy and I totally supported it during my days as an ALF activist. There were, after all, other groups, such as the Animal Rights Militia, which people could get involved in if they wanted to carry out violent actions.

I'm not ethically opposed to violence against animal abusers. But I think great care has to be taken not to endanger ordinary members of the public, which is why I don't like the use of letter-bombs for instance. Even tactically I'm not opposed to violence in all circumstances (and obviously I support its use in self-defense), but I don't think it needs to be used big-time in order to achieve animal liberation.

Does direct action burn people out faster than other forms of activism? What has become of the people you formed the Band of Mercy and the ALF with? What advice can you offer current activists to help them avoid this burn-out?

Yes, I think it can, due to prison sentences and the stress of risking imprisonment, even if a person is never caught.



# I BELIEVE IT IS FAR BETTER TO LIVE FOR ANIMAL LIBERATION THAN TO DIE FOR IT.

Of the other five people involved in the formation of the Band of Mercy (which later became the ALF), one I've totally lost touch with and three of the other four are involved in animal rescue work (and as far as I know are still vegetarian or vegan). One, Sue Smith, had still been involved in direct action (as well as animal rescue and healing) but sadly died last year from a mystery illness.

I think there comes a time for an ALF activists when they feel, for one reason or another, that they can no longer take the risk of spending time in prison. Sadly, some seem to disappear from the animal rights movement completely when this happens. The advice I would give concerning this is that direct action is not the be all and end all of everything and there are plenty of very important ways in which a person can help the cause of animal liberation without risking imprisonment.

I don't think it's just ALF activists who can suffer burn-out though. It can happen to anyone who devotes a lot of time and energy to campaigning against animal persecution. My advice would be that such people should not be afraid to take a break now and again to recharge their batteries. It's important to have some sort of hobby or interest to relax with and take your mind off the struggle every so often. Mine is watching soccer (although with the way the team I support has been playing

recently, I'm not sure that's an entirely stress-free activity!)

Often movement opponents of direct action are under the impression ALF activists and their supporters see direct action as the "only" viable form of changing industries. How much of a role do you think direct action should play tactically within the whole of the animal rights movement in relation to that of education and legislation?

I can understand why this is the case, because at one time myself and many others within the ALF used to proclaim that direct action was the only way. That's not at all my view these days though.

I think the role of direct action varies according to the particular area of animal abuse which is being targeted, and sometimes education can be much more important. Sometimes random attacks can achieve a great deal, but I think this depends very much on the target. It could be argued that all ALF attacks achieve something. But I think we have to consider what is the best way of campaigning against particular forms of animal abuse - and that isn't always direct action.

For instance, with the meat industry (and all the horrors that are connected with it, such as factory farming) I would argue that public education is a better tactic than direct action, because it's an area where consumer choice can make a massive

espousing different approaches. In the multiple decades you have been actively fighting for animal liberation, how have you dealt with criticism from other activists and groups, and what advice can you offer those who are charting out new and perhaps controversial territory?

In the early days I was really down on anyone who dared criticize the ALF. Now I'm much more tolerant of anyone who's campaigning to make things better for the animals, no matter how they are trying to do it or what their views are on ALF actions. My advice to anyone considering embarking on any animal liberation campaign would be to think carefully about the whole thing. Mistakes have been made in the past where people have just charged ahead without thinking, and the most successful campaigns have generally been those that have been well thought out before being launched.

Do you find the vitriol directed towards acts of direct action by the media to be concerning and a failure on our part to change this. Or do you see it as typical of how the press has always treated revolutionary social movements? In your opinion will this negative press coverage of certain direct actions carry over and hurt the overall animal rights cause?

I'm not particularly concerned about or at all surprised by the vitriolic treatment of direct action by most sections of the media. The media, in general, represents big business (including animal abuse businesses) and the status quo, so will, of course, try to vilify those it considers a threat. I think we might well have cause to worry if such vilification didn't occur, because that would mean that the animal liberation movement wasn't having much effect.

I don't think there's really anything we can do to change it and I don't think we should worry about it. There's also a sense in which it can be positive. The more terrifying animal liberation activists are made out to be by the media, the more animal abusers will be afraid of the animal liberation movement and the more likelihood they will give up persecuting animals out of fear of what *might* happen to them.

I don't think the hysterical coverage by the media of certain direct actions particularly harms the overall animal liberation struggle. It may stop certain people donating money to animal protection organizations, if they can't distinguish between them and the direct action groups, but I don't think it would stop anyone from changing their own lives to avoid animal abuse, such as by becoming vegetarian or vegan for instance.

The US movement in the past five years has seen a number of activists break under interrogation and "grass" out other activists. From your own experience, how damaging can this betrayal be, and what sort of policy do you think activists should adhere to when dealing with someone who has grassed, but would like a second chance?

It can be very damaging if it leads to good activists

or campaigners being put in prison. If there had been no grassing (and if people had just kept their mouths shut in police stations) the number of activists imprisoned over the years would probably be less than half of what it has been.

With regard to how people who grass should be treated afterwards, I think it all depends on the type of grassing that's involved. I would distinguish between somebody who breaks in the police station under the pressure of interrogation and someone who actually stands up and gives evidence in court against their former activist colleagues.

I don't see how animal rights campaigners could ever work with the latter type of person again. But with someone who just breaks under police pressure and takes it no further and then is sorry for what they've done, I think they can be allowed to be involved in animal rights campaigning in the future, but not direct action. There have been too many cases in this country where someone who has cracked in the police station has been allowed to get back involved in direct action and then they have grassed again after a subsequent arrest. The problem is that it's often very hard to tell in advance if a person is the type that will grass. But once it's evident that they are, that just can't be ignored.

November 5<sup>th</sup> marks the two year anniversary of Barry Horne's death. What do you feel the impact of Barry's sacrifice has been? What lessons do you think the movement should learn from this tragedy?

I think it has made very little impact, that it was counterproductive, and that it was a mistake. Barry's death made no difference to government policy with regard to vivisection and they've continued to support companies like HLS and to bring in more and more legislation to try to stop animal rights activism.

Barry was a very good activist and campaigner and would have achieved far more for the cause of animal liberation had he lived. Even if he'd been kept in prison for the full 12 years (which is what he would have had to serve if he didn't get parole) he would have only been in his 50s on release and if he'd kept himself fit and healthy in prison (which is quite easy to do these days) he would have had many years of useful campaigning ahead of him. Also, even within prison it's possible to be involved in the fight for animal liberation through writing letters, articles etc.

I have no problem with somebody dying for animal liberation if they have no choice in the matter. But Barry did have a choice, and I believe it is far better to live for animal liberation than to die for it.

The tragedy of Barry's death to me is just the high-point of a general problem which the movement has with the issues of suffering, sacrifice and martyrdom. It doesn't seem to be enough that other creatures should be the victims of the animal abusers and the system which supports them. Many people in the movement seem to have the irrational urge to be their victims too. When people are beaten up by hunt supporters or vivisection lab guards, for instance, they seem to almost revel

in the fact. "Look at those nasty people, they put me in hospital." Well, of course they're nasty. They support and take part in the murder and torture of innocent creatures on a regular basis. Was it really necessary for you to be beaten up by them in order to prove it?

It's enough that the animals are the victims of the vivisectors, hunt scum etc. without us becoming their victims too. *They* should be *our* victims, not the other way around.



**It's enough that the animals are the victims of the vivisectors, hunt scum etc. without us becoming their victims too.**

**THEY SHOULD BE OUR VICTIMS,  
NOT THE OTHER WAY AROUND.**

What does it mean to you to hear of ALF cells carrying out actions in Barry's honor, or those of other fallen or imprisoned activists?

I don't like it because I think it's speciesist. Barry had a choice whether to live or die. The animals in labs, etc. don't. And prison is a holiday camp compared with a fur farm or a vivisection laboratory. Naming such actions in honor of Barry gives the impression that they are being carried out because an activist killed himself or because an activist is in prison, when the perceived motivation for the action should be the suffering of the animals.

You are no stranger to the prison system, and have received several lengthy sentences. With the state upping the ante on politically motivated actions, what sort of practical advice can you offer people on dealing with (mentally and physically) incarceration? How do you suggest the movement better itself in prison support?

Animal rights prisoners should remember that just because they're incarcerated doesn't mean they're no longer part of the struggle, and they can still do things to further the cause of animal liberation while in prison. Some points of advice I would give are: (1) Don't smoke. Eat as healthily as possible and get plenty of exercise. Reduce the time the system is stealing from your life by adopting a life-

prolonging lifestyle. And be fit and raring to go when your release day comes. (2) Embark on studies that will be useful to you as an animal liberation campaigner, such as learning foreign languages or proficiency in the use of computers. (3) Bearing in mind that you must be careful what you say, write positive articles for animal rights publications/letters to other AR campaigners/prisoners. I think the movement does pretty well with prisoner support, especially in view of the fact that most AR prisoners would prefer that movement resources went into campaigning for the animals rather than supporting them. I don't really see how support could be improved without taking funds away from fighting directly for animal liberation.

What has been your favorite ALF action in history, either your own or that of some other cell?

I think the best action I ever took part in was in the days of the Band of Mercy (1974) when we destroyed a boat that was to be used for hunting seal pups. It resulted in that particular hunt being called off that year, and it has never taken place since.

Often though, it is a series of actions leading to success, rather than just a singular action, which comes to mind. In the early days of the ALF there

was a concerted direct action campaign against a vivisection lab called Biorex in North London, which eventually resulted in the place closing down (the building is now used by Greenpeace as its UK HQ!), and then there was the damage campaign in the mid 80's which caused all the big stores to stop selling fur coats.

Is there any other message you would like to send to direct action activists, or the movement for animal liberation as a whole?

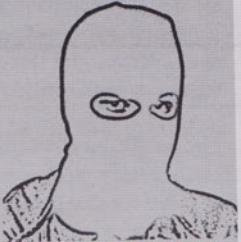
Keep fighting and stay positive. This is a battle we are gradually winning. I'm not sure exactly what the situation is in other countries, but I know that in the UK the number of people who are vegetarian has increased enormously in recent years, the number of experiments on animals is half what it was in the 70s, the fur trade has been drastically reduced and fur farming has been banned (to be followed soon, hopefully, by hunting with hounds). Also, animal protection campaigns have met with increasing success all across the board, whether it's been closing down vivisection suppliers, stopping local authorities from shooting pigeons, or preventing new greyhound tracks from opening. The struggle for animal liberation is not a sprint, but a marathon. The finishing line is still a long, long way ahead - but the day will come when we shall cross it.

how it was done: **D**

# ONE MORE RUNWAY WRECKED



## A BRIEF TALE OF ONE TIP TWO MATES AND THREE HOURS OF MISERY FOR THE FUR INDUSTRY



The year was 2000 and the London anti-fur campaigns were well into full swing. Zwirns Fur Shop was receiving all day vigils (and was only months away from closing), numerous other High Street shops were having their furs destroyed on quite a consistent basis, and the dog and cat fur trade was at the brink of being exposed. The big push the fur industry was making to get these hideous garments back onto the racks was being met with an equally aggressive resistance.

During London Fashion Week opportunity struck, as a friendly (and fashionable) insider leaked to a local group that designer Alexander McQueen would be premiering his new line in an old warehouse in an industrial part of East London, and the line would include several disgusting fur coats.

With only two days notice before the show, a local group began making plans to demonstrate, while a friend and I had other ideas. The day prior to the show we managed to locate the industrial centre where the show was meant to take place. It was a rather derelict looking building. The facility was guarded by two security knobs, and it looked like a movie set was being built within. Scoping the place out during the day was harder than we had anticipated, so we returned later that night, prepared for whatever possibility we might find, with a rucksack filled with a trusty crowbar, red spray paint, industrial strength glue, bolt-cutters, thick black gloves, and two ballies.

The front entrance was impenetrable. A security station was set up at what appeared to be the main and only entrance. The bloke inside the small cabin seemed to be watching the tellie, but it still seemed a bit chancey, so we went about investigating the back alley to the building next door.

As luck would have it, after clearing a twelve foot high fence, the razor-wire atop it, and the rather polluted canal immediately at our side, we found a back way into the building through the air ventilation system. Shimming through we came in behind a huge black curtain, and on the other side was a whole theatre-type set up. Approximately 200 chairs were assembled in a U shape surrounding a rocky runway and a large ramp leading up to a second level (which we assume the models were meant to walk down, glamorously no less).

After about an hour of exploring this empty and almost completely ready-to-roll fashion show we decided on a course of

action that would be quiet but effective (the security station was only 100 meters away). We began with the most expensive thing we could find, the enormous speakers (seriously must have been 6 feet high) and stereo system hidden behind another set of curtains. One by one we slashed all the fronts to them, clipped the cables connecting them to the main console, and wreaked havoc on the control panels with help of a nearby bucket of water. There was no way any euro-trash disco music would be pumped out of these now.

Next we moved onto the dressing rooms of the models and proceeded to smash as many mirrors as we could, and spraypainted "Fur Hag" onto several others. What makeup units we found were all coated with a thick layer of blood-red paint. "FUR SHAME" was left on the door going in and out, and we clipped as many electricity cables for lights as we could find (Fur is from the "Dark Ages" right?).

We left gigantic anti-fur messages throughout the show area, and on the main backdrop behind the runway we spraypainted the biggest ALF you have ever seen. These fur wankers are a bit dim, so we wanted to make sure we left a clear calling card.

All along the runway on the main level and going up to the second level were long florescent lights lining it. Carefully we unscrewed a few and jostled others. Next to them we left bits of the wire and cables we had snipped from the speakers below. With what was left of our paint we left a warning message on the wall leading into the show, indicating we had booby-trapped the lighting system.

On our way out the back we took two fire extinguishers we had found and emptied them over all the chairs we could, spraying the white fire retardant everywhere like we were holding champagne bottles. The room was a mess of paint, broken glass, disabled speakers, and white clouds. Our job was done.

The next day the show was delayed by over three hours as the filth called in the bomb squad to look for our "booby-traps." All those waiting to get into the show, fashion writers and celebrities alike (including Icelandic Pop sensation Bjork and fur hag Victoria Beckham) were berated the entire time by the protest group that had assembled around the entrance. The newspapers all picked up on the story and the headline ran everywhere that the ALF destroyed the fur show. The designer's hard work was never noticed as all people talked about was the action. One worried designer heard about what had happened and contacted a local AR group to let them know his show scheduled for later in the week, which was to include fur, no longer would. Not bad for a night on the town with your best mate.



# the “BIG DOG” APPROACH by steve hindu

by steve hindri

**V**iolence and threats of violence have no place in the animal protection movement. We have a supposed ethic supporting compassion and nonviolence, and this alone should eliminate the use or even consideration of violent tactics.

The public, an obviously critical team member in the struggle to create a more compassionate world, reacts negatively to behavior that is in complete conflict with our rhetoric. It is clear and undeniable, in spite of loud and emotional claims and sales pitches to the contrary, that the use of violence is extremely counterproductive. This is true not only in our movement, but others as well.

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**Threats and  
THEY VIOLATE  
PUBLIC**

As one who has worked on numerous issues including hunting, bullfighting, and rodeos, I have witnessed and documented more scenes of grotesque and indefensible cruelty and brutality than I want to remember. I regularly experience anger and rage over the way animals are treated.

My anger is further heightened by the fact that, for some thirty years, I was part of the problem. As a former hunter/fisherman I took untold thousands of lives under the guise of being a "sportsman." Once acknowledging the truth about bloodsports, I also had to accept the burden of guilt for my part in activities that I was now sworn to fight against.

Unable to change my past, I had to decide how to proceed into the future. After initially indulging in loud, and even threatening protests, I found that the use of video documentation and public exposure resulted in far more positive change.

Goals worth attaining rarely come easy. It is far simpler to put together loud and obnoxious, but often meaningless, protests, or to commit an unlawful act than to put together a high-tech undercover operation to document abuses, or to build and operate a fleet of public display vehicles. Mere venting should not be equated with achievement, and venting hate and committing violent acts lead to ultimate failure.

SHARK, our organization, has enjoyed many successes. Our method is simply to give people an opportunity to see an issue with their own eyes, and then make up their own minds. They almost always side with us. They don't have to believe our rhetoric, and after seeing the evidence for themselves, they won't believe the opposition's.

Documentation and exposure produce the changes we want. If our movement spent more of its resources in this direction, we would reap far more results for our nonhuman friends.

I am reminded of the line in the Quentin Tarantino movie *Reservoir Dogs* in which one character, Vic, challenges someone who is chastising him with, "Are you going to bark all day, little doggie, or are you going to bite?"

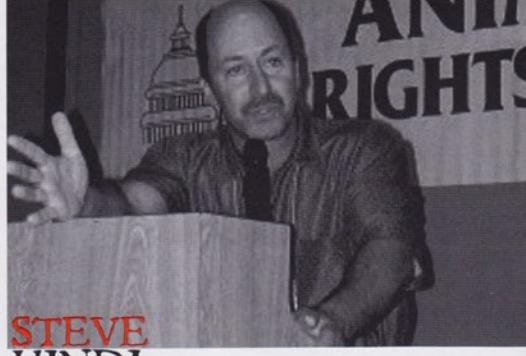
That's a great line. We've all seen the little lap dogs who make a lot of noise, but don't get much done in the way of protecting their turf or advancing their cause. Then there are the big dogs that just get down to business. They don't jump around

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THEY VIOLATE OUR ETHICS AND TURN  
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and yap – they simply go for the throat. In animal protection, documenting and publicly exposing animal abuse is the equivalent of going for the throat.

I urge this movement to take the "big dog" approach. Let our video cameras silently devastate our opposition as we document their abuses. Let the only noise anyone hears be the rumble of our video fleets bringing the truth to the masses, and the subsequent outcry of those masses for change.

Threats and violence hurt our cause. They violate our ethics and turn public opinion against us. Those committing these acts play right into our opposition's hands. Instead, let's get down to business by documenting and exposing abuses, and hang abusive individuals, corporations and government agencies out to dry.



STEVE  
HINDI

Steve Hindi is the president and founder of Showings Animals Respect and Kindness (SHARK). Only 10 years ago Steve was a hunter and "sportsman," but made a compassionate life change after witnessing the horrors of live pigeon shoots. Steve now dedicates his time to video taping the cruelty of rodeos, bullfights, and hunts, and exposes the issues directly to the people with his Tiger Truck and its multi-foot screens. SHARK tackles local and international animal issues. Contact: [www.sharkonline.org](http://www.sharkonline.org)



# the NECESSITY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

by *craig rosebraugh*

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**T**he topic of political violence is a taboo in U.S. society. Especially in light of recent events, such as the September 11, 2001 suicide attacks, political violence is condemned by the overwhelming majority of those living in the U.S. Ironically, whether we like it or not, and whether the vast majority of people in the U.S. will admit it or not, political violence has played a crucial role in progressing social and political movements both in this country and internationally throughout history.

By political violence I am referring to actions taken for political motives that clearly fall outside of those fitting neatly in the non-violent boundaries. Acts of political violence may include property destruction (depending on your own moral opinions on whether this constitutes violence), physical assault, terrorism, assassinations, armed insurrections, bombings, and conventional and/or guerrilla warfare.

While no one in their right mind would glorify political violence, the question remains: Why is political violence necessary to advance political and

years, have healthy and working consciences? Do vivisectors, who continue their fraudulent and appalling research purely for monetary gain, have healthy and working consciences? Do executives of corporations such as Pacific Lumber, who have been engaged in chopping some of the last remaining old-growth trees in this country strictly for financial gain, have healthy and working consciences? In all these examples the answer is no. A healthy and working conscience would not allow someone to knowingly and purposely engage in atrocities.

Those preaching non-violence all too quickly recite token, misleading, and outright fictitious examples of successful applications of non-violent actions. The most common is the mythical Gandhian legacy of how the little man in the white loincloth gained Indian civil rights in South Africa and was responsible for pushing the British out of India. Unfortunately, the Hollywood version (and that of many western authors) of Gandhi, his non-violence movement, and the entire independence movement in India is far from accurate. The Indian independence movement was actually comprised of a variety of strategies and tactics, including massive occurrences of political violence. As was the case in the relationship between the black power movement and the civil rights movement in the U.S., the violent elements of the Indian independence movement made Gandhi and his followers appear

cannot be successful, it seems apparent that those continuing to adhere to a strict code of nonviolence are attempting to appease personal consciences far more than actually attempting to progress their given issue or movement. This ability to engage in strategies and tactics that are only within the moral guidelines set by the nonviolence religion suggests that non-violent practitioners are acting from a position of privilege and security and not out of a necessity to stop a particular injustice. The obvious difference occurs when someone (i.e. the PLO in Palestine, for instance) commits an act of political violence because they are in life and death circumstances. The point is that the purposeful adherence to nonviolence is actually allowing a heightened degree of violence and injustice to exist because the unjust entity is never threatened. White liberals can preach the ethics and morals of nonviolence adherence to eternity, but the fact remains that the environment continues to be destroyed, animals continue to be murdered en masse, and people continue to be exploited, tortured, and murdered because people are not engaging in strategies and tactics that will actually stop the injustice.

Today, the threat to life on the planet is so severe that political violence must be implemented in justice pursuits. To reject this consideration constitutes a refusal to acknowledge the dire state of the world and the historical legitimacy of political violence in justice movements. The ability for justice to ever become a reality, depends directly on the willingness of individuals to do whatever it takes - to use any means necessary - to stop global murder, exploitation, and destruction of life.

NO MOVEMENT HAS GAINED A RECOGNIZABLE  
DEGREE OF PROGRESS OR SUCCESS  
**without the implementation of political violence**

social movements in the U.S.? The simplest answer is because other tactics individually have never worked, will never work, and most importantly, cannot work to achieve justice in this country. This is fundamentally a result of the inability for non-violent approaches to actually confront and threaten the opponent, or in the largest and most crucial sense, the political structure of the U.S.

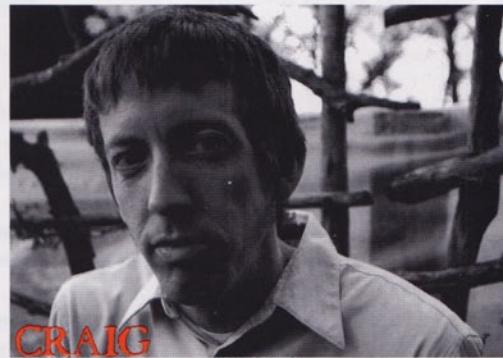
Gandhian nonviolence, the predominant school of thought behind non-violent action, dictates that the opponent must be weaned from error by sympathy for the non-violent activists, then see the evils in his or her own actions and voluntarily change. This, it is too often argued, is the only methodology for creating lasting positive social and political change.

The fundamental problem with the above theory is that it requires the opponent to have a healthy and working conscience to decipher between right and wrong, good and evil, just and unjust. Do executives from cigarette corporations, who have knowingly and purposely sold deadly products to people for

much more desirable to work with. But it was indeed a combination of strategies that eventually forced the British to give up India.

In the U.S., each and every major social and political movement throughout history has relied upon a mixture of tactics that included political violence. From the terrorism, armed insurrection, and warfare involved in the War for Independence that formed this country, to the numerous violent slave revolts in the abolitionist movement, to the effects of World War I on the suffragette movement, to the riots, bombings and property destruction in the labor movement, to the armed wings of the black power and civil rights movement, *no* movement has gained a recognizable degree of progress or success without the implementation of political violence. This is again primarily a result of the failure for non-violent approaches on their own to actually confront and threaten the given opponent.

Realizing that non-violent approaches on their own



**CRAIG  
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A political activist since 1990, when he was actively opposed to the Gulf War, Craig Rosebraugh is best known for his roles as an ALF spokesperson in 1997 and ELF spokesperson from 1997-2001. In 2003, Rosebraugh co-formed Arissa, an effort to build a revolutionary movement in the U.S. ([www.arissa.org](http://www.arissa.org)). His first book "The Logic of Political Violence: Lessons in Reform and Revolution" was released in November 2003, published by Arissa Media Group ([www.arissamediagroup.com](http://www.arissamediagroup.com)). He can be reached at [Craig@arissa.org](mailto:Craig@arissa.org)

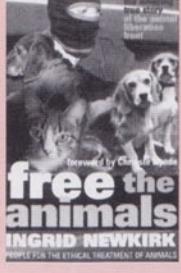




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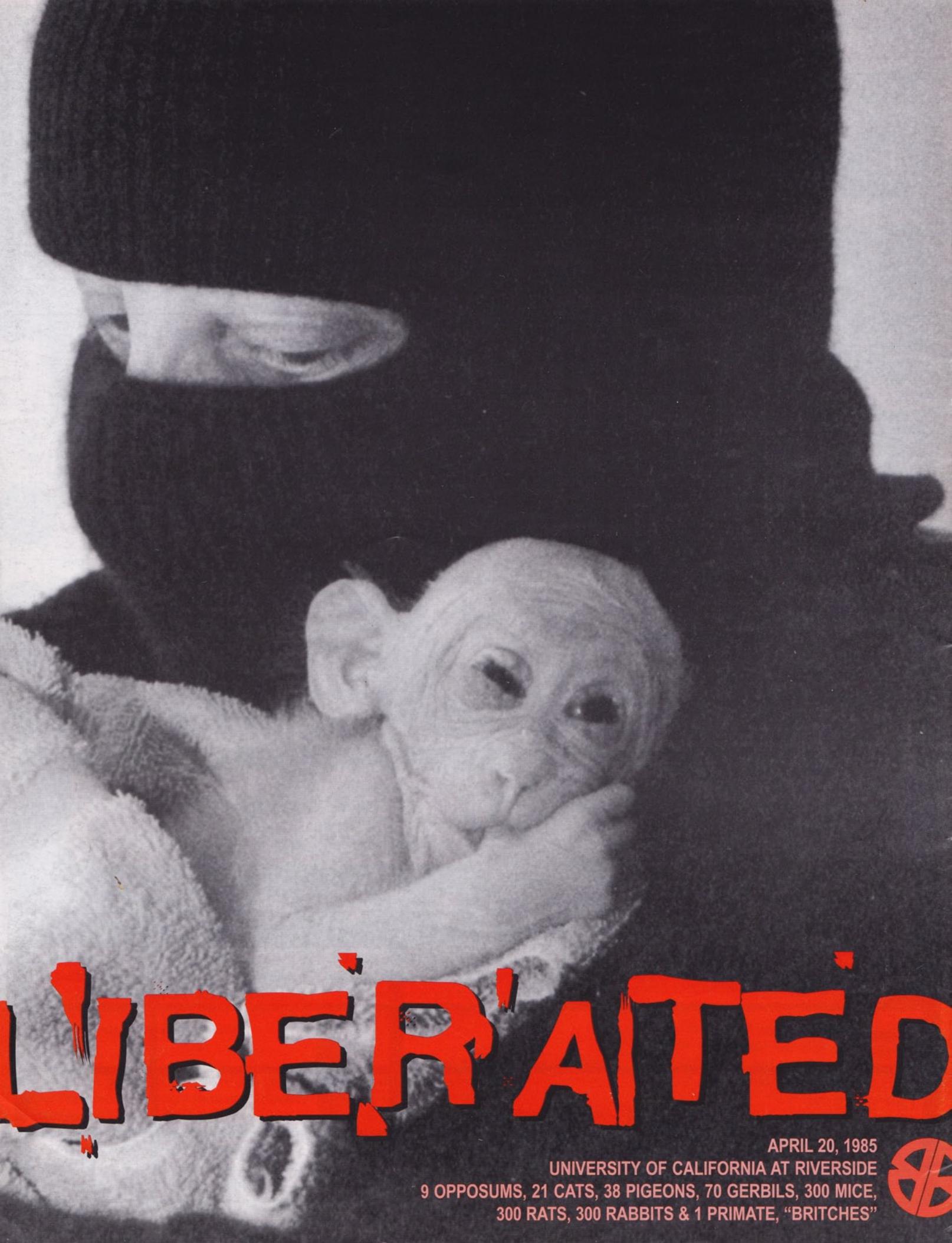
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